1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11
Kurdish M810

E
562 aspect of this female warrior, who is described as
701 having been a little shrivelled up old woman.'

K Among the second and peasant Kirds, as might be
571 expected, very little attention is paid to education.
709 The subsistary Kirds in Sulimaniah and other centres, are not, however, wholly unattended, as they have Mollahs, or Doctors of Divinity, of their own nation to expound the Moslem law and teach in the colleges.

K The wives and daughters of the latterest Kirds are
[214] also taught at least to read and write Persian, which is the literary language, for Kirdish literature is almost non-existent, notwithstanding an attempt made early in the century by some Mollahs to publish works in that language. The Kirdish tongue

K is not connected either with Persian or Turkish, and
187 it contains as many dialects as there are tribes. Constant intercourse has, however, naturally resulted in the introduction into their idiom of a great number of

S Turkish, and especially of Persian, words. Poetic feel-
538 ing often manifests itself among Kirdish women, who compose many graceful and touching songs, of which the theme is generally some social or tribal event.

Y The members of the Yezidi sect, who belong to
571 eleven different tribes, and number between seven
703 and eight thousand families, are said to entertain a
542 strong prejudice against learning of any kind, and their ignorance is proverbial among the people by whom they are surrounded. With the exception perhaps of the higher grades of the priestly caste, the men are consequently totally without education, and their women are naturally in a similarly benighted condition.

[illegible]

little collection of arms--rifles, bandoliers, ihwiliri (the curved Kurdish dagger)--may often be seen, because men with business in the corai are disarmed on entering and may reclaim their weapons after their departure. The roofs are of earth thickly plastered and rolled on supporting joists of bundled poles and twigs, and on them tufts of grass here found a foothold. In summer the policemen on duty at night take up their station in a corner of the roof.

The offices of the corai open on the inner courtyard. There are but a few loopholes in the outer wall of the first storey, and the interior windows and those of the second storey facing the valley are glassed and barred. The walls within are plastered, but the ceiling consists of bare branches and poles which support the roof. The floors are of tramped earth. The furniture--desks, chairs, and long, high wooden benches--is unpainted, while a few officers boast upholstered easy-chairs. Cases, desks, and conventional corners are occupied with stacks of dossiers and loosely-pinned papers. Everything is written by hand, for there are no typewriters. In the corner of every office stands the omnipresent grey water-jug with a glass turned down over its mouth. There is no electric lighting, and the rare work which demands attention after dark must be done by kerosene or gasoline lanterns. A few of the rooms are equipped with stoves in winter time. Directly across the courtyard from the gateway is the jail, the inner wall

of persons is a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a [476]
merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter [454]
practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the
merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
liraq or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
A number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
culties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [874]
some courses along these lines at night, and were very
surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning
their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually [522]
the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
and many place high expectations in the help of their sons
at school.

Before describing in greater detail the rules of 463
the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
here to provide a list of persons according to their
occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
others employed only in the service of those residing in
the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

mentioned. Precious stones and pearls are little in evidence, but coins, of almost any age and variety, are often drilled and included in the ensembles. The silver _bilaq_ or nose-ring, sometimes containing a piece of turquoise, is only affected by women of the villages. Many married couples wear rings, usually of silver and sometimes set with a piece of coloured glass, on the third or fourth finger of the right hand, but they are not a necessary part of engagement or marriage. Men wear little jewelry save a ring and a few sport a silver or imitation gold watch-fob hanging from a breast pocket. There is some aversion on the part of men to wearing gold, and this is said to have a background in Islamic tradition. The elegant seal-rings of Medieval and Ottoman times have almost completely disappeared, except in a few of the older families, such as that of Ra'uf Effendi, where they are preserved as heirlooms.

It has been seen that the townspeople have little regard for intoxicants, nor do they make use of drugs such as the opium of Iran to the east or the _hashish_ of Lebanon and Syria to the west. If there are excesses among the natives of Rowanduz, they are only tea-drinking and smoking, the first of which has been discussed. Cigarettes are the most popular mode of consuming tobacco, and have several varieties. From the merchants British cigarettes and those made in the factories of Baghdad may be obtained. The officials and officers habitually use these, and they are

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line, usually with the common consent of the tribesmen. Beneath them are commoners, shepherds and peasants, and, in the villages, a number of merchants, craftsmen and laborers. Some of these chieftains own little more than their own tents or houses, while others have immense fortunes and estates. Arab leaders of this type are invariably associated with tribes, but some of the Kurdish chiefs are feudal landlords without tribal affiliation, although their ranks and titles are inherited in the same way. Generally speaking, men belonging to this hereditary group may marry beneath their station, but daughters are never allowed to do so. The chieftains themselves may be illiterate and wear the costume of their people, Arab or Kurd, but, insofar as they are powerful or wealthy, they move freely in the highest echelons of society. There is no vertical mobility in this system, and it is nominally impossible for a commoner, no matter what his power and wealth, to become a chieftain, although one suspects that this has happened in the past.

The second system, paralleling the first, is of a different character and is the civilized society of the state. At its base are again shepherds and peasants, with the addition of the urban proletariat, laborers, servants, soldiers, and the like. The great cleavage in this group is the difference between literacy and illiteracy, judged in terms of matriculation in the secondary schools. It is difficult for us to appreciate the overpowering importance of education in this society. An educated man from the

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lower classes enters upon a new and loftier status, be- 565
coming a gentleman. Never again is he allowed to engage 18.12
in menial labor, nor the uses of his inferiors. Only 871
certain occupations are open to him, the government service, the professions, and, to a lesser extent, business. It is 555
the hope and dream of every father and mother of the lower 565
classes that one or more of their sons will be educated, and thus honor them, and they endure great sacrifices to this [871]
end, sometimes ill-repaid by the young official who scorns their plebeian manners and dress. For this very reason the bureaucracy is heavily overburdened with men whose training does not permit them to return to "degrading" toil, and every year the number of applicants increases. For most, business has little attraction, the province of foreigners, Christians, and Jews, but it must be admitted that some Muslim families who have interested themselves in this way have proven much more enterprising and ruthless than their rivals of other religions and nations. Occupying the uppermost strata of this system are the highest government officials and officers, wealthy landlords, some of whom possess huge estates, and others of a similar nature, politicians, lawyers, and physicians. The middle class, of course, includes the lesser government personnel, educators, business and professional men. The lower class begins with uneducated merchants and craftsmen and descends to the masses. There is no well-defined line of demarcation between these groups, save that which separates the educated and uneducated. There is also no bar to mobility, and the son of the poorest

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present, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain can never wed a successful peasant.

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It would be incorrect to assign the Muslim clergy, the mullahs of the Sunnites and the imams of the Shiites, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amusing

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[522]

story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one 793 S22 [S23]
such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a
letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the
pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she
anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the
document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short [785]
time, and the woman tore her garments and went into
mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course
of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter
announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a
message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and
the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim
returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in
mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great
excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "God
is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The
matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole
party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar
revelation. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the
latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she
might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and
all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor 793
and wealthy mulla, and they are able to marry according 582
to their status in this sense. The darvish, as a religious 792
ascetic, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as 795
one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest
status are initiated into the mysteries of the darvish
orders. In Rwanda one could find a darvish in a dressed

any technical device within their means have been received with alacrity. European and American medical goods are eagerly sought, and there is almost a childlike faith in the wonders of the Western World. "We see," said an MSM, "more of this area a Switzerland of the Middle East." The less well-informed, whose knowledge only extends to the Mediterranean, say the same thing, having reference to Lebanon. Insofar as family life is concerned, the Hutu, comparing themselves to the Arabs, point with pride to their "more enlightened" treatment of women in terms of the veil and social intercourse, but one is dubious of any wider extent of this liberality. In short, the Hutu aristocracy represents an extremely active class, untroubled by most aspects of Westernization, but weakened by their own dissentions and threatened by the encroachment of a new government. It seems impossible, in view of so many variables, to predict whether or not they will be able to maintain their integrity.

Inasmuch as they represent the first system in which the only significant division is between aristocrat and commoner, the Hutu chieftains of the Rwandan area are often uneducated and wear the national costume as it has been described in the preceding section. Only a moderate number from this group have obtained higher education and have subsequently entered the government service. Many, indeed, are illiterate and have no knowledge of Arabic, the language of the government. In Rwanda only three aristocratic houses are represented, those of Isma'il

townspeople themselves, or to the government personnel, although most of the details are commonplace. Marriages between aristocratic houses often follow these alignments, although now and then a wedding is arranged which will join two houses not normally friendly toward each other. A chieftain with a number of daughters and sufficient wealth and prestige to attract suitors can build up quite a system of allies, thus increasing his own power, and the name can be once with a number of sons.

Turning to the townspeople, who in the first system constitute the mass of commoners, a rather confused social hierarchy is revealed. Several concepts are responsible for this, the first of which is that it is considered degrading for one of the "upper" class to work with their hands. The group of persons who are not so talated, in addition to the aristocracy, officials, and officers, thus includes among the people of the town the clerks, landowners, mullas or priests, and businessmen, such as the wealthier merchants and the owners of the slaughtering and the hotel. Such a person is termed effendi or "gentleman," and occupies the highest ranks of the commoner group. Two examples are provided by Shukir Effendi and Ra'uf effendi, both landowners. In addition to their properties, Shukir Effendi is the clerk of the judge's court and Ra'uf Effendi is the mukhtar or representative of the townspeople. The chief mulla of the town is addressed as "Mulla 'Abd-al-Karim Effendi." Literacy, a distinctive requirement of the

upper class in the second system, is unnecessary for this group. Ra'uf Effendi, for example, cannot read or write, although he can sign his name and speaks four languages fluently. It is with these "genteel" commoners that there is intermarriage among the aristocracy, although commoners can never attain the rank of a chieftain. The marks of the class are either wealth or literacy. A mullā can be extremely poor and still enjoy the distinction. It might be mentioned that the lowest class of civil servants, the clerks, as well as Christians and Jews, if wealthy, are addressed by the same term elsewhere in Iraq. A teacher, however, does not always like to be called effendi because he has had a college or university education, and, no matter how poorly paid, belongs to the educated upper class of the second system.

Rowanduz is non-tribal and does not, as a whole, owe allegiance to any particular chieftain, although the Imam of Imam'li Beg owns a great part of the town. "We do not belong to tribes," Ra'uf Effendi explained, "although perhaps our ancestors did, but we have no knowledge of them." Persons of the lower classes, transients or migrants from the villages, may, of course, retain such affiliations. In Ottoman times, Rowanduz enjoyed an independence, just as it does today, from tribal or feudal obligations. The wealthy merchants of the town, particularly those engaged in the lucrative caravan trade with Iran, were called chelebis, another Turkish term for "gentleman,"

The use of alcoholic beverages,

gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [279]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [169]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town [771
of a Hurdieh tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous accounts
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 771
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or [22]
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 905
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

dilated and bloodshot, as they hoarsely reiterate their exhortations. They are also supposed to be able to "read" over those who have been bitten by snakes and effect their cure. They sell or give outsiders lumps of sugar on which certain symbols have been scrawled. If eaten, this sugar is believed to confer the power of snake-charming. They have other exhibitions, such as mutilating their bodies in various ways without experiencing pain. Hajji Mustafa exhibited his forearms which were covered with scars from past demonstrations. In addition to these displays and their tumultuous meetings, the dervishes commonly practise white magic for those who seek their aid, but are for the most part engaged in everyday employment.

The dervishes usually wear the garb of the countryside. Hajji Mustafa wore Turkish trousers and shirt, but discarded the sash. His headdress consisted of a skullcap with a turban wound flat about it as in the case of the police. On formal errands, for example, when he was called to the court in connection with firing the Rwandan anthem, Hajji Mustafa added a light brown Arab cloak and carried a walking-stick or staff. Some dervishes bind their waists with the rosary of 99 wooden beads. The tools of Hajji Mustafa's dervish activities, observed in his house, consisted of a flag, an old rifle, a sword, a huge tambourine perhaps three feet in diameter, a begging bowl (the traditional badge of the dervish) made of a large hollowed gourd with a strap for carrying it over the shoulder, and a tattered copy of the Shajara (Arabic, "tree") of 'Abd

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al-Qadir al-Jilani. It might be noted that Hajji Mustafa was illiterate, but he loved to thumb through this "book of secrets" in public.

To illustrate further the character of the narrative, it is useful here to include the autobiography of Hajji Mustafa, which also provides an interesting commentary on life in Rwanda. The story was recorded in the garden of Shaikh Effendi with the latter present to verify some of its episodes. With the exception of the account of the journey to Iraq disguised as a Jew, which sounds distinctly anecdotal, Hajji Mustafa's tale seems credible at most points, aside from its exaggerations. Certain lengthy parts of the narrative have been omitted or condensed, and others rearranged with respect to the chronology.

My real name is Mustafa Amin, but my name as a [351]
Muslim is Shaikh Hajji Mustafa Rwandusi. I am [389]
now about sixty years of age and I have had nine wives in my life, seven Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew. My present wife is a girl of Rwanda who is twenty years of age. I have five children living, and of them two are boys and three are girls. One of the boys is Amin who helps in my shop and the other is an infant.

I was born in Rwanda and the name of my father was 'Abd al-Amin Hasan 'Uthman, a merchant here. I never went to school, but always played in the streets. The parents of the other children used to complain because I threw stones at the schoolboys and broke their heads. One day my father said to me, "Mustafa, my son, you must have a trade. It is bad that you never do anything except play in the streets and cause trouble." "I have a trade whenever I want it," I told him, "I can command an army." I gathered fifty children of the town and we equipped ourselves with wooden rifles and swords. I divided the army into halves, one under myself and the other under my cousin's son. We fought several battles, and one day there were many casualties. The parents of the children who had [357]

[illegible] SK2 A73

[illegible] SK2 592

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[illegible] SK2 592

COMMON DOMESTIC LIFE

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

[illegible] SK2 592

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[illegible] SK2 592

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 WAII Kurd WAII
Rowanduz

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771 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms
778 the social position of the Mullo in the Province as village priest, and give some description of the scope in the relative seclusion of the religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine beliefs or ritual practices in detail.

The Mullo

779 Most of the larger villages have a resident Mullo. The functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write the Arabic language and an extensive knowledge of the Koran. This mental equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a student, during which time he is permitted upon the village in which he lives, begging his keep and assisting all services except labour. Most Mullos have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They are not usually members of the local kinship group, but individuals who through some social entanglement have left their own group and are thus without normal means of support. The student must I believe achieve a certain standard before he 'graduates' as a Mullo, but how this is defined is not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The intellectual attainments of the Mullo vary very greatly. Some have a real understanding of Arabic and Persian and of the written literatures of their own languages others merely learn the Koran by rote and recite portions of it as ritually ordinances without any clear understanding of the meaning. Knowledge of the Koran does not even necessarily imply an ability to read - the Mullo student as Egypt was quite blind but was gradually memorising the whole book. In general however the Mullo may be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. Some of the ordinary commoners are literate; most of the Agha would claim the distinction but I doubt their real ability - all Agha of Bapir the surname called in the Mullo both to read and write his letters, and Ismil Agha of Dargala though he could certainly read was scarcely a flueht. In earlier times one of the Mullo's definite functions was to be scribe and general secretary to the Agha; conditions in this respect are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most Aghas sons are now quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the Agha the Mullo's services to the community are roughly those of village priest. He leads the prayers in the mosque, and on the Sabbath [Friday] supplements this with a brief sermon in Arabic, which is entirely unintelligible to his audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals and recites suitable verses from the Koran. It was hinted further that he is frequently called in to cure sickness - chiefly by means of prayers and charms and exorcism. I have no information at all as to the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and Koranic charms, especially among the women and the smaller children suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

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In return for these services he receives from the Agha a

resembling the chanter of a bagpipe and has often a plaintive lilt. Kurdish dancing, however, is by no means so immature or feminine. Kurds and all other mountain dwellers in Kurdistan dance what is known as the chain-dance, similar to that which is, I believe, commonly seen in the Balkans. The dancers join hands and form a ring. The piper and a drummer with a sort of snare drum stand in the middle, and the dance consists of fairly intricate footwork while the circle moves slowly round. Often one dancer who fancy themselves as budding Nijinskys do solo dances inside the circle. Amongst the Kurds the men and women dance separately, but with the Christians were the two sexes dance together. This does not mean, however, that Kurdish women are completely segregated or kept by themselves. As a matter of fact, they possess considerable freedom and may be seen gathering firewood, tending animals or engaged in other tasks on the mountainside, often far from their villages.

Up to five years ago the Barzan district of Kurdistan retained all of its savage and primitive features. Government had not penetrated and Sheikh Ahmed, a religious fanatic, was dictator. With the help of his brothers and a standing army of several hundred men he completely dominated the impoverished inhabitants, who had the sheikh's bodyguard perpetually billeted on them and who had to provide them with food, clothing and tobacco and anything else they might fancy. Any protests on the part of the villagers were discouraged by the strongest methods. Such complete ascendancy did Sheikh Ahmed gain over his savage and illiterate people that they began to look upon him as a god and, though Moslems in name, turned their faces towards him in prayer rather than towards Mecca, as tradition demands. There was a Mullah in the district called Mullah Taj, who represented himself to be the prophet of this new god. The Mullah was a very fiery and eloquent speaker and, unfortunately for himself, his fame began to surpass even that of the deity. This could not of course be tolerated, and one of Sheikh Ahmed's brothers "bumped off" the presumptuous prophet. Up to that time the Koran had been revered, but now the Sheikh issued orders for the destruction of all copies to be found. He also withdrew the ban on the eating of pork, for wild pig were plentiful in Barzan. Armed missionaries were sent out beyond the Barzan bounds, and villages which refused to accept the Sheikh were burned and a number of the male inhabitants put to death. This state of affairs could not be allowed to continue, and the Iraq Government was forced to take action in conjunction with the British Royal Air Force.